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MONDAY, MARCH 21, 1932

WHOLE No. 682

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ROMAN BARBERS¹

The Latin word for barber is *tonsor*, or (in some inscriptions) *tosor*²; the derivation of this word is obvious. Female barbers were called *tonstrices*³. However, *tonsor* was used occasionally when *tonstrix* was meant⁴. A barbershop was a *tonstrina*⁵. The *tonsor*, in the broad sense, was one who sheared or clipped either man⁶ or beast⁷, or even one who pruned plants⁸. More commonly and more specifically he was thought of as having a human clientele⁹. In many respects he resembled his modern counterpart. His duties consisted in shearing or in shaving the hair of the head (*capillus*) and the beard (*barba*), and in manicuring the nails¹⁰.

¹This paper is limited entirely to the Roman practices.

I have used, in the main, only primary sources. These sources are listed here for convenience, in alphabetical order (in some instances the abbreviations with whose help references will be made in the notes are given in angular brackets).

Amianus Marcellinus 22.4.9; Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusa* 218-221; Arnobius 6.12; Aulus Gellius 3.4; Celsus 7.7.15; Censorinus, *De Die Natali* 1.10; Cicero, *In Catilinam* 2.19, *De Officiis* 2.25, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 5.58; Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum <C. I. L.>, 2.5181, 4.743, 6.990, 31900, 12.4514, 4516, 4517, 15.7172; Dio Cassius 48.34, 68.15; Horace, *Epistulae* 1.1.94, 1.7.49, *Sermones* 1.7.1-3.

Juvenal 1.24-25, 10.225-226, 12.79-81; Livy 5.41.9, 6.16.4, 27.34; Martial 2.17, 2.36.1-3, 3.74.1-4, 6.52.1-4, 6.93.8-9, 7.83, 7.95.7-15, 8.47, 9.27.5, 11.58.9, 11.84, 12.59.4-5, 14.36; Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 1.517-518, *Fasti* 2.29-30.

Palladius 1.43; Petronius 29, 75, 94, 103; Plautus, *Asinaria* 343-344, *Aulularia* 312-313, *Captivi* 267-269, *Curculio* 577-578, *Epidicus* 197-198, *Truculentus* 405-406, 770-772; Pliny, N. H. 7.211, 16.235, 20.106-110, 114, 32.135, 36.164-165 <Pliny>; Plutarch, *Antonius* 18.1, *Cato Minor* 53, *De Garrulitate* 13; Polybius 3.20.5.

Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Hadrian 26.1; Seneca, *Epistulae Morales* 114.20-21, *Naturales Quaestiones* 1.17.7; Suetonius, *Iulius* 67, *Augustus* 23, *Caligula* 10, *Nero* 12.4; Tacitus, *Germania* 31, *Historiae* 4.61; Tertullian, *De Cultu Feminarum* 2.7; Tibullus 1.8.9-12, 2.1.33-34; Valerius Maximus 3.2.15; Varro, *De Re Rustica* 2.11.8, 10 <Varro>; Vulgate, *Genesis* 38.12.

²C. I. L. 6.9940 P. Petronius P. L. Philomusus Tosor, 12.4516 Vivet Voltilia D. f optata patri et matri D. Voltilius auctus tosor trina Sp. f optata Q XV, 12.4517 Tosor novacula Umanus forfex P. Q. XV.

³Plautus, *Truculentus* 405-406. Tonstricem Suram novisti nostram...? 770-772 Calliclem video senem, meus qui adfinit fuit, ancillas duas constrictas ducere, alteram tonstricem huius, alteram ancillam suam; Martial 2.17.1 Tonstrix Suburae faucibus sedet primis....

⁴C. I. L. 12.4514 M. Coelius M. L. Onesimus sibi et primigeniae contubernali L. E. Cerviae Fuscae matri tonsori.

⁵Plautus, *Asinaria* 343-344 Verum in tonstrina ut asebam, me inquit percontarier, ecquem filium Stratonis noverim Demaenetum; Pliny 20.114 Fracto capiti aranei tela ex oleo et aceto inposita non nisi vulnere sanato abscedit. Haec et vulneribus tonstrinarum sanguinem sistit.... 36.164-165 Nunc ad operarios lapides transisse conveniat primumque cotes ferro acuendo. Multa earum genera. Creticae diu maximam laudem habuere, secundum Laconicae e Taygeto monte, oleo utraque indigentes. Quarta ratio est salvia hominis proficientium in tonstrinarum officinis, inutilis fragili mollitia.

⁶Varro 2.11.10 Omnino tonsores in Italia <m> primum venisse ex Sicilia dicuntur p. R. c. a. CCCCLIII, ut scriptum in publico Ardeae in litteris extat, eosque adduxisse P. Titinium Menam. Olim tonsores non fuisse adsignificant antiquorum statuae, quod pleraque habent capillum et barbam magnam.

⁷Varro 2.11.8 Quidam has <=oves> bis in anno tondent... ac semestres faciunt tonsuras; Palladius 1.43 Castratoria ferramenta atque tonsoria...; Vulgate, *Genesis* 38.12 Sed cum plures essent dies, mortua filia Schuhbae uxore Jehuda, Jehuda se consolaturus accendit ad tonsores gregis sui.

⁸Arnobius 6.12... Saturnus cum obunna falce custos rursus ut aliquis, ramorum luxuriantium tonsor <formatur et fingitur>....

⁹See notes 3, 6, above.

¹⁰Plautus, *Aulularia* 312-313 Quin ipsi pridem tonsor unguis demperat; collegit, omnia abstulit praesegetmina; Tibullus 1.8.9-12 Quid tibi nunc molles prodest coluisse capillos... quid unguis artificis docta subsecuisse manu? Martial 3.74.1-3 Psilothro faciem levas et dropace calvam. Numquid tonsorem, Gargiliane, times? Quid facient unguis?, 14.36 Ferramenta Tonsor: Tondendis haec arma tibi sunt apta capilli; unguibus hic longis utilis, illa genis.

In early times the Romans allowed the hair to grow to full length without cropping. Wearing full beards and long hair uncut was the prevailing custom¹¹, as seems to be the case usually with primitive peoples. Livy¹² tells how the massacre started in Rome at the time of the Gallic invasion in 390 B. C. The Gauls hesitated to enter because of the impressive dignity of the old men with beards who were sitting before their houses, but an inquisitive Gaul went up to M. Papirius and gently stroked his beard, for which he got a caning that started the slaughter.

Varro¹³ says there was no barber at Rome until 300 B. C., when P. Ticinius Menas brought one from Sicily; old statues, he says, prove, by the length of hair and beard represented on them, that there were formerly no barbers. However, we feel safe in assuming that the razor and the shears were used by the Romans long before history begins. Pliny¹⁴ the Elder asserts that the first Roman who was shaved every day was Scipio the Younger (he died in 129 B. C.). This practice was soon followed. As a result, barbers became numerous in a society which had adopted the Hellenistic fashion of wearing the hair short and of shaving daily. As was to be expected, men of the lower orders could not always follow this custom, a fact to which Martial jeeringly alludes¹⁵. In Rome, during the second century before Christ and later, a long beard was considered a mark of slovenliness and squalor. Livy¹⁶ mentions the case of M. Livius who, on his restoration from banishment, was compelled by the censors to be shaved and to lay aside his sordid apparel before being

¹¹Tibullus 2.1.33-34 Messalla... magna intonsis gloria victor avis....; Ovid, *Fasti* 2.29-30 Denique quodcumque est, quo corpora nostra plantur, hoc apud intonsos nomen habebat avos; Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones* 1.17.7 Tunc quoque, cum antiqui illi viri incondite viverent... cura comere capillum fuit ac prominentem barbam depectere.

¹²5.41.9 Ad eos velut ad simulacra versi cum starent, M. Papirius, unus ex iis, dicitur Gallo barbam suam, ut tum omnibus promissa erat, perpulcenti scipione eburneo in caput incusso iram moveisse....

¹³See note 6, above; Pliny 7.211 Sequens gentium consensus in tonsoribus fuit, sed Romanis tardior. In Italiam ex Sicilia venire post Romam conditam anno quadringentesimo quinquagesimo quarto, adducere P. Titinio Menam, ut auctor est Varro. Antea intonsi fuere. Primus omnium radi cotidie instituit Africanus sequens. Divus Augustus cultris semper usus est.

¹⁴See note 13, above; Aulus Gellius 3.4 In libris quos de vita P. Scipionis Africani compositos legitimus scriptum esse animadvertimus P. Scipioni, Pauli filio... diem dictum esse... eumque, cum esset reus, neque barbam deesse radi neque candida veste uti neque fuisse cultu solito reorum. Sed cum in eo tempore Scipionem Minorem quadraginta annorum fuisse constaret, quod de barba rasa ita scriptum esset mirabamur. Comperimus autem ceteros quoque in isdem temporibus nobiles viros barbam in eiusmodi aetate rasavisse, idcircoque plerasque imagines veterum, non admodum senum, sed in medio aetatis, ita factas videmus.

¹⁵7.95.7-13 Hoc me frigore basiet nec uxor blandis filia nec rudis labellis. Sed tu dulcior elegantiorque, cuius livida naribus canis dependet glacies rigetque barba, qualem forficibus metit supinis tonsor Cinyphio Cilix marito.... 12.59.4-5 Te vicinia tota, te pilosus hircoso premit osculo colonus....

¹⁶27.34.5-6 Octavo ferme post damnationem anno M. Claudius Marcellus et M. Valerius Laevinus consules redierant eum <= M. Livium> in urbem; sed erat veste obsoleta capilloque et barba promissa, prae sese ferens in vultu habitumque insignem memoriam ignominiae acceptae. L. Veturius et P. Licinius censores eum tonderi et squalorem deponere et in senatum venire fungique aliis publicis muneribus coegerunt.

permitted to attend the meetings of the Senate and to perform other public duties.

From this time on down through the Empire, allowing the beard to grow, besides being a mark of negligence, was a sign of mourning motivated by a judicial conviction, by the necessity of defending oneself against a public accusation, or by some other great calamity. So in 385 B. C., when M. Manlius was sent to prison, many put on mourning garb and allowed their beards and hair to grow¹⁷. Martial¹⁸ mentions the fact that a *reus* who had to appear in court did not shave; the *reus* sought thus to arouse the pity and the sympathy of the jurymen. Likewise, Julius Caesar, after the defeat of his lieutenant Titurius in Gaul¹⁹, Cato the Younger, for the rest of his life after leaving Italy with Pompey in 49²⁰, Antony, after the defeat at Mutina in 43²¹, and Augustus, after the defeat of Varus in 10 A. D.²², went unshaven and unshorn. Tacitus²³ gives an account of a practice which has modern parallels in the case of athletes who vow not to shave until they win: 'Now, at length, having completed the destruction of the legions, Civilis cropped his long and burnished hair, in fulfillment of a vow common to barbarians, which he took himself after he commenced hostilities against the Romans'. Julius Caesar, too, did this²⁴. The young men of the Chatti, a German tribe, were not allowed to shave or have a haircut until they had slain an enemy²⁵.

A well-known custom sprang up of consecrating to the gods the hair from the first shaving and of celebrating the occasion with sacrifices and merry-making²⁶. This practice appears to have been borrowed from the Greeks: we do not hear of it before the imperial age²⁷. There was no fixed time for this to be done. Usually it came about the twentieth year, or when the young Roman assumed the *toga virilis*; consequently the occasion was regarded as the beginning of manhood. Augustus waited until his twenty-fourth year²⁸; Caligula removed his beard on the day when he assumed the toga of manhood, in his twentieth year²⁹. However, the toga was usually changed at an

earlier age. Nero, we know, took his first shave to the accompaniment of a splendid sacrifice of bullocks at a gymnastic contest; he put the hair in a gold box, set with pearls, and dedicated it to Iuppiter Capitolinus³⁰. Trimalchio kept the first clippings of his beard in a gold box in the shrine of the Lares³¹. Some young men oiled their chins to force a premature growth of beard³².

After taking the first shave, the young man allowed the beard to grow again, but trimmed it carefully in a fashion conforming to the practice of the time³³. Besides the literary evidence one sees this graphically represented on the coins of the last century of the Republic and on those of the early Empire³⁴. After the age of forty the Romans were generally in the habit of shaving the whole face³⁵.

The Emperor Hadrian wore a full beard to hide some scars³⁶. This set the fashion of wearing beards until the time of Constantine. The busts and the coins of this period show the Emperors with beards³⁷. But Constantine and all his successors to the end of the sixth century, with the single exception of Julian, are represented as beardless.

Now let us turn our attention again more specifically to the barbers. Plautus lists the barber's instruments as follows³⁸: comb (*pecten*), mirror (*speculum*), shears (*axitia*), curling iron (*calamistrum*), and depilatory tweezers (*volsellae*). The razor (*novacula*) which was in use³⁹ was shaped like a half-moon⁴⁰. It was kept in a curved case when it was not in use⁴¹. Sharpening of the razor was done on hones requiring oil⁴²; sometimes human saliva was used on the hones⁴³. The Romans also had knives for cutting the nails, which were sharp enough and large enough to be used for suicidal purposes⁴⁴. A Christian tombstone has been found on which are depicted the instruments used by barbers⁴⁵.

¹⁷Nero 12.4. See note 26, above.

¹⁸Petronius 29. See note 26, above.

¹⁹Petronius 75 Tam magnus ex Asia veni, quam hic candelabrum est. Ad summam, quotidie me solebam ad illum metiri, et, ut celerius rostrum barbatur habere, labra de lucerna ungebam.

²⁰Cicero, In Catilinam 2.19 Quos pexo capillo nitidos aut inberbis aut bene barbato videtis; Ovid, Ars Amatoria 1.517-518 Nec male deformet rigidos tonsura capillos: sit coma, sit docta barba resecta manu; Seneca, Epistulae Morales 114. 20-21 Haec ergo et eiusmodi vitia... non auit indicia luxuriae nec animi corrupti... Quod vides istos sequi, qui aut vellunt barbam aut intervellunt, qui labra pressius tendunt et adradunt servata et summissa cetera parte...; Martial 8.47 Pars maxillarum tonsa est tibi, pars tibi rasa est, pars vula est. Unum quis putat esse caput?

²¹See G. F. Hill, A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins (London, Macmillan, 1899. Pp. xvi + 295); Harold Mattingly, Roman Coins (London, Methuen and Co., 1928. Pp. xx + 300). The latter is much the more helpful book. It contains 64 Plates, with many reproductions of coins.

²²Aulus Gellius 1.4. See note 14, above.

²³Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Hadrian 26.1 Statura fuit procerus, forma comptus, flexo ad pectinem capillo, promissa barba, ut vulnera, quae in facie naturalia erant, tegeret, habitudine robusta; Dio Cassius 68.15.

²⁴See note 34, above.

²⁵Curculio 577-578 At ita me volsellae, pecten, speculum, calamistrum meum bene me amassint meaque axitia linteumque extersui....

²⁶Petronius 103 Mercennarius meus, ut ex novacula comperistis, tonsor est.

²⁷See Daremberg et Saglio, Dictionnaire Des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines 4.108, Figure 5333.

²⁸Martial 11.58.9-10 sed fuerit curva cum tuta novacula theca, frangam tonsori crura manusque simul.

²⁹Pliny 36.164 Crutiae <coates>... indigentes (cited in note 5, above).

³⁰Pliny 36.164-165 (cited in note 5, above).

³¹Valerius Maximus 3.2.15... egresso cubiculum Bruto, <Porcia, filia Catonis> cultellum tonsorium quasi unguium resecandorum causa poposcit, eoque velut forte elapso se vulneravit. See note 10, above.

³²See Daremberg et Saglio, 4.108, Figure 5334.

¹⁷Livy 6.16.4 Coniecto in carcerem Manlio satis constat magnam partem plebis vestem mutasse, multos mortales capillum ac barbam promississe.... ¹⁸2.36.3... nec sit tibi barba reorum.

¹⁹Suetonius, Iulius 67 Diligebat quoque <militis> usque adeo ut, audita clade Tituriana, barbam capillumque summissit, nec ante dempsit quam vindicasset.

²⁰Plutarch, Cato Minor 53. <Unfortunately, here and elsewhere in these notes, the Greek passage is too long to quote. C. K.>.

²¹Plutarch, Antonius 18.1.

²²Suetonius, Augustus 23 Adeo denique consternatum ferunt ut per continuos menses barba capilloque summissa caput interdum foribus illideret....

²³Historiae 4.61 Civilis barbaro voto post coepta adversus Romanos arma propexum rutilatumque crinem patrata demum caede legionum deposuit. ²⁴See note 19, above.

²⁵Tacitus, Germania 31 Et alius Germanorum populus usurpatum raro et privata cuiusque audientia apud Chattos in consensum vertit, ut primum adoleverint, crinem barbamque submittere, nec nisi hoste caeso exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti oris habitum.... ignavis et imbellibus manet squalor.

²⁶Petronius 29 Praeterea grande armarium in angulo vidi, in cuius aedicula erant Lares argentei positi Venerisque signum marmoreum et pyxis aurea non pusilla, in quo barbam ipsius conditam esse dicebant; Suetonius, Nero 12.4 Gymnico, quod in Saepthis edebat, inter buthysiae apparatus barbam primam posuit conditamque in auream pyxidem et pretiosissimis margaritis adornatam Capitolio consecravit; Dio Cassius 48.34; Censorinus, De Die Natali 1.10 Quidam etiam pro cetera corporis bona valeditine crinem deo sacrum pascebant.

²⁷See J. E. B. Mayor on Juvenal 3.186 (London, Macmillan, 1901). ²⁸Dio Cassius 48.34.

²⁹Suetonius, Caligula 10 Vicesimo aetatis anno, accitus Capreas a Tiberio, uno atque eodem die togam sumpsit barbamque posuit.

In early times the barbers may have been itinerants; the name *circitores* was applied to some of them⁴⁶. Presently, barbers had shops (*tonstrinae*) to which their customers came⁴⁷. At times their shops were crowded, and one had to wait⁴⁸. The customer took his place on the *sella tonsoria*, a low stool, as is evidenced by a terra-cotta⁴⁹ (found at Tanagra in Boeotia, and deposited in the Berlin Museum), which shows an ancient barber at work on his subject. Next, a long rough cloth (*involutum*, or *linteum*) was placed around him and over his shoulders, as is done now, to keep the hair from the clothing⁵⁰.

If the customer wanted his hair trimmed, the barber, as is the case to-day, worked *per pectinem*, 'over the comb'⁵¹. If a close cut was desired, the barber took the hair by handfuls and cut it short⁵². Sometimes the head was shaved, and, what is more surprising, the eyebrows were shaved⁵³. This was done by sailors who anticipated shipwreck, and so made an offering of their hair to appease the gods and secure deliverance⁵⁴. The Vestal Virgins hung their locks on trees⁵⁵; this may have been a rite of consecration of a person to religious service. We have evidence that shaving the head was considered necessary for the diagnosis or treatment of certain maladies⁵⁶. On the other hand, in case of baldness (*alopecia*) or falling hair, Pliny the Elder lists numerous remedies and cures⁵⁷, which are more amusing than effective. Several of the applications recommended are hoofs of mules burned to ashes and mixed with oil of myrtle, heads of flies applied fresh, ashes of burnt flies kneaded with woman's milk and cabbage, heads or tails of mice reduced to ashes, fresh poultry dung, blood and brains of ravens mixed with wine.

We have no evidence how shaving was done in Italy. In Greece the subject puffed out his cheeks to stretch the skin, as is shown by a burlesque scene in Aristophanes⁵⁸. In case the barber was unskillful and cut a customer, cobwebs were used to stop the bleeding⁵⁹. Some, who would not submit to the razor, used powerful depilatory ointments or plasters (*psilothron*, *dropax*, *Venetum lutum*, or *resina*)⁶⁰. Pliny gives a very complete list of such salves, and mentions their ingredi-

ents⁶¹. Such salves were used also to remove hair on other parts of the body⁶². Stray hairs were plucked out with fine pincers or tweezers (*volsellae*)⁶³.

The barber curled the hair, if the customer wished him to do so⁶⁴.

At the conclusion of the barber's work, a mirror was put before a customer that he might judge whether the work was satisfactory⁶⁵.

For a man to attend to any of these duties himself was considered a mark of poor manners⁶⁶. Yet blundering and unskillful barbers were not rare⁶⁷. There is a hint that scalp wounds were inflicted by some barbers who were very careless in handling the implements⁶⁸. Martial mentions a barber by the name of Antiochus whom he advises one to avoid, if he is unprepared for death. He says the surgeon has a gentler touch in cutting the knotted hernia and in lopping away broken bones than this barber has⁶⁹. Dionysius the Elder, Tyrant of Syracuse, fearing to put himself at the mercy of a barber, had his daughters taught the tonsorial art for his benefit; later he had them singe off his hair and beard with glowing coals⁷⁰. A barber, Eutrapelus, mentioned by Martial, was so slow, in spite of his name, 'Nimble', that a second beard grew while he was removing the first⁷¹.

Women also had recourse to barbers, but only for arranging the hair in various forms⁷². Frequently one of their own slaves acted as *tonstrix*⁷³. There was a female hairdresser's shop at the entrance to the Subura⁷⁴.

Apprentices learned the trade with the use of blunted instruments⁷⁵. Some barbers acquired great wealth⁷⁶. We have no evidence to show what barbers charged, but their maximum fee was fixed by the Edict of Diocletian at two denarii (approximately thirty-five

⁴⁶32.135.

⁴⁷Martial 6.93.8-9... Deposita quotiens balnea veste petit, psilothro viret aut acida latet oblita creta...

⁴⁸Martial 9.27.5... purgentque saevae cana labra volsellae...; see note 38, above.

⁴⁹Plautus, Curculio 577-578 (see note 38, above); Martial 2.36.1 Flectere te nolum, sed nec turbare capillos.

⁵⁰See note 38, above.

⁵¹Horace, Epistulae 1.7.49-51... conspexit, ut aiunt, adrasum quandam vacua tonsoris in umbra, cultello proprios purgantem leniter unguis.

⁵²1.1.94-95 Si curatus inaequali tonsore capillos occurri, rides (see note 59, above); Martial 11.84.1-16 Qui nondum Stygias descendere quaerit ad umbras tonsorem fugiat, si sapit, Antiochum. Alba minus saevius lacerantur brachia cultris... mitior implicitas Alcon secat enterocelas fractaque fabrilis dedolat ossa manu... Haec quaecumque meo numeratis stigmata mento... Antiochi ferrum est et sclerata manus.

⁵³See note 59, above. ⁵⁴11.84. See note 67, above.

⁵⁵Cicero, De Officiis 2.25 Quid enim censemus superiorem illum Dionysium quo cruciatu timoris angustatum, qui cultros metuens tonsorios candente carbone sibi adurebat capillum? Tusculanae Disputationes 5.58 Quin etiam, ne tonsori collum committeret, tondere filias suas docuit... et tamen ab his ipsis, cum iam essent adultae, ferrum removit instituitque ut candentibus iuglandium putaminibus barbam sibi et capillum adurerent.

⁵⁶7.83 Eutrapelus tonsor dum circuit ora Luperci expingitque genas, altera barba subit.

⁵⁷Tertullian, De Cultu Feminarum 2.7 Quid criminibus vestris quiescere non licet, modo substrictis... modo elisis?... Frustra peritissimos quoque structores capillaturae adhibetis.

⁵⁸Plautus, Truculentus 405-406 Tonstrixem Suram novisti nostram...? 770-772 Calliclem video senem, ancillas duas constrictas ducere, alteram tonstrixem huius, alteram ancillam suam.

⁵⁹Martial 2.17.1 Tonstrix Suburae faucibus sedet primis... ⁶⁰Petronius 94.14 Rudis enim novacula et in hoc retusa, ut pueri discentibus audaciam tonsoris daret, instruxerat thecam.

⁶¹Juvenal 1.24-25... patricios omnis opibus cum provocet unus quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat...; 10.225-226 percurram citius quot villas possident nunc quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat.

⁴⁶C. I. L. 2.5181. ⁴⁷See note 5, above.

⁴⁸Plautus, Asinaria 343-344 Verum in tonstrina ut sedebam, me infit percontarier, equeum filium Stratonis novierim Demaenatum.

⁴⁹See Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities, 1591, under Tonsor (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1897); Archäologische Zeitung für 1874, Tafel 14.

⁵⁰Plautus, Captivi 267-269 Nunc senex est in tonstrina, nunc iam cultros attinet. Ne id quidem, involutum inicere, voluit, vestem ut ne inquinaret. Sed utrum stricte adtonsurum dicam esse an per pectinem... Curculio 578. See note 38, above.

⁵¹See note 50, above.

⁵²See the terra-cotta mentioned in note 49, above.

⁵³Petronius 103.1-5 Mercennarius meus, ut ex novacula comperistis, tonsor est. Illic continuo radat utriusque non solum capita, sed etiam supercilia... notavit sibi ad lunam tonsorem imtempestivo inhaerentem ministerio, execratusque omen, quod imitaretur naufragorum ultimum votum, in cubile reiecit est.

⁵⁴See note 53, above; Juvenal 12.79-81 Sed trunca puppe magister interiora petit... Gaudet ibi vertice raso...

⁵⁵Pliny 16.235... quae <arbor> capillata dicitur, quoniam Vestalium Virginum capillus ad eam deferitur.

⁵⁶Celsus 7.7.15 Raso capite ea medicamenta, quibus in lippitudine pituita suspenditur, a superciliis usque ad verticem illini debent. 20.106-110. ⁵⁷Thesmorphiazusae 2:18-221.

⁵⁸Pliny 29.114 Haec et volneribus tonstrinarum sanguinem asit, cerebro vero profluentem anseris sanguis aut anatis infusus, adipsa earundem alitum cum rosaceo.

⁵⁹Martial 3.74.1-4 Psilothro faciem levas et dropace calvam. Numquid tonsorem, Gargiliane, times? Quid facient ungues? Nam certe non potes illos resina Veneto nec rescare luto.

cents)⁷⁷. Possibly this covered the necessary operations of hair-cut and shave; it certainly did not include 'tips'. Ammianus Marcellinus tells of a barber of the fourth century A. D. who, having been summoned to cut the Emperor's hair, came handsomely dressed. When he was asked what he made from his business, he answered that he made enough every day to keep twenty persons, and as many horses, and also had a large annual income⁷⁸.

Evidence of a barbers' 'union' or 'guild' at Pompeii is given by an electoral *graffito*⁷⁹. At Rome, many barbers were located in the vicinity of the Circus Maximus⁸⁰. We know of a slave's collar which stated what was to be done with him if he should run away: *Reduc me ad Flora <e> Templum ad tosores*⁸¹.

Persons of wealth and distinction had their own barbers among their slave families; such slaves, if skillful, were much prized⁸². But most men repaired to the *tonstrinae*, which became places of resort, visited by idlers for the sake of gossiping; such persons used to stop in the *tonstrina* long after the *tonsor* had finished with them⁸³. The ancient barbers themselves were as fond of talk as those of modern times are reputed to be, and consequently a thing known to the barbers was a thing known to every one⁸⁴. To be sure, barbers' tales were not always reliable⁸⁵. Plutarch gives considerable evidence of the garrulity of barbers⁸⁶. The barber of Archelaus, after placing the cloth about his shoulders, asked him, 'How shall I trim your Majesty?' 'In silence', was the reply. It was a barber of the Piraeus who first reported the news of the disaster of the Athenians in Sicily; he heard of it from a slave of one of those who had escaped. Leaving his shop, he ran into the city to announce it. But, knowing barbers' reputations, and so thinking that the report was false, the citizens were so incensed that they put the barber on the rack and did not release him until late in the evening, when the report was verified. The barber of Dionysius was even put to death because he was given

to gossiping. The unsavory reputation of female barbers is vouched for by Martial⁸⁷.

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ANTIGONE AND DIDO

When I found that Klausen¹, in writing about the two sisters, Dido and Anna, described them as "einer strengen, einer milden", I thought of the two famous sisters of Greek tragedy, Antigone and Ismene. Parallel in many respects, to my mind, are the two great tragedies, the Antigone of Sophocles and Aeneid, Book 4. Each deals with the conflict of the human will with the divine will; in each the overwhelming supremacy of the larger cosmic scheme over individual human passions is forcefully demonstrated. Moreover, in the characters of the heroines, Antigone and Dido, and in their relations with their sisters, Ismene and Anna respectively, there is striking similarity.

Both Antigone and Dido have suffered beyond the common lot of mortal man. Tragedy such as theirs either ennobles or degrades souls that have the vision to realize its significance; only commonplace individuals, such as Ismene and Anna, whose lack of perception tempers the full force of the horror, pass virtually unscathed through such abnormal tragedy. Those who survive the process of *káθαρσις* in an experience which is by no means vicarious are inevitably among the great ones of the earth. But the front ranks are always lonely and dangerous. Hence we are not surprised to find that Antigone and Dido stand alone. Antigone has lost father, mother, and brothers; Dido has lost her dearly beloved husband. Both have suffered, Antigone through sharing the misfortunes of the ill-fated house of Oedipus, Dido through the tragedy of her husband's murder. To uphold Antigone there is a *Χορὸς Ὀηβαίων Γερόντων* instead of the chorus of women which is a regular feature of Greek tragedy when the principal character is a woman. The Theban Elders leave the heroine strangely isolated, an isolation which her sister's failure to cooperate with her and her betrothed's relation to Creon accentuate. Dido moves entirely in a man's world². She approaches the temple *magna iuvenum stipante calerva* (Aeneid 1.497). No more than Camilla is she *colo calathivae Minervae femineas adsueta manus* (Aeneid 7. 605-606). Hers is the domain of the conquering male, hers the fearless and indefatigable spirit of the pioneer and of the statesman. With unerring instinct and extraordinary ability she deals firmly and equably with her subjects. Each of our heroines has demonstrated her loyalty, Antigone by her unselfish sharing of her father's

⁷⁷See H. Blümner, *Der Maximaltarif des Diocletian* (Berlin, 1893). <For this edict of Diocletian see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.15-16. There Professor R. G. Kent, of the University of Pennsylvania, reviews a pamphlet published in 1920 by the Union Trust Company of Providence, Rhode Island, which gives, in translation, practically all of this famous Edict. The translation there given is for the most part that of Professor John C. Rolfe and Frank B. Tarbell, which appeared originally in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 5 (1892), 233-244. Professor Kent refers to his own translation of the Edict, in the *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 69.

See also the chapter entitled Diocletian's Edict and the High Cost of Living, in Frank Frost Abbott, *The Common People of Ancient Rome*, 145-178 (New York, Scribner's, 1911). C. K. >.

⁷⁸22.4.9. *Evenerat isdem diebus ut ad demandum imperatoris capillum tonsor venire praecceptus introiret quidam ambitiose vestitus. Interrogatus tamen ille quid haberet ex arte compendii, vicinas diurnas respondit annonas totidemque pabula iumentorum, quae vulgo dicitant capita, et annum stipendium grave abque fructuosis petitionibus multis.*

⁷⁹C. I. L. 4.743 I. *Trebium aed tonsores.*

⁸⁰6.31900 *Tonsor de Circum.*

⁸¹C. I. L. 15.7172 *Aelius servus. . . tene me quia fugi reduc me ad Flora <e> ad Florae Templum> ad tosores.*

⁸²Martial 6.52.1-4. *Hoc iacet in tumultu raptus puerilibus annis Pantagathus, domini cura dolorque sui, vix tangente vagos ferro rescare capillos doctus et hirsutus excoluisse genas.*

⁸³Plautus, *Asinaria* 343-344 (see note 48, above), *Epidicus* 197-198. . . *per omnem urbem quem sum defessus quaerere: per medicinas, per tonstrinas, in gymnasio atque in foro. . .*

⁸⁴Horace, *Sermones* 1.7.1-3 *Proscripti Regis Rupili pus atque venenum Hybrida quo pacto sit Persius ultus opinor omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse.*

⁸⁵Polybius 3.20.5.

⁸⁶De Garrulitate 13.

⁸⁷17. *Tonstrix Suburae faucibus sedet primis. . . Non tondet, inquam. Quid igitur facit? Radit.*

<Reference may be made here to an article entitled Greek and Roman Barbers, by F. W. Nicolson, which appeared in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 2 (1891), 41-56. C. K. >.

¹Rudolph Heinrich Klausen, *Aeneas und die Penaten*, 1.512 (Two volumes. Hamburg and Gotha, Perthes, 1839, 1840).

²Compare Aeneid 1.364. Antigone, too, is playing a man's rôle. Ismene (Antigone 61-62) reminds her of the limitations placed upon their sex. Moreover, Creon seems to be goaded to special fury when he remembers that a woman is defying him (525, 578-579, 679-680, 746).

exile, so long as Oedipus lived, Dido by avenging her husband's murder and remaining faithful to his memory.

Such is the situation when the dramas open.

Each protagonist has reached a great crisis in her life. Antigone, as was foreshadowed in Aeschylus's play, *Seven Against Thebes*³, is faced with the choice of obeying the edict of Creon which prohibits the burial of her brother Polynices, or of discharging her obligation to the dead by defying the king. Dido, on the other hand, has just awakened to a realization of her passion for Aeneas and to the terrifying possibility that this passion may be stronger than her sacred vow to her dead husband. In each case, the problem has to do with obligations to the dead.

Each feels the need of advice and consolation in the dilemma that faces her. To be sure, each has in fact determined, Antigone unhesitatingly, Dido against her better judgment, on her future course of action. It is natural that each should turn to her sister for support, since in both cases the bond of natural affection had been strengthened by adverse fortunes faced together. Ismene had remained loyal to the exiled Oedipus and the faithful Antigone. She had, in fact, risked her life to bring to Oedipus messages of importance. Anna had preferred to accompany Dido on her hazardous journey, though she might have remained with Pygmalion in Tyre, for, so far as we know, he had no quarrel with her. Therefore, we are not surprised at Antigone's affectionate greeting of her sister⁴, ὦ κοῖνον αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμήνην κἀρα, or at Dido's appeal to her *unanimia soror*, which opens with the words *Anna soror*⁵.

However, it is at once evident that neither Ismene nor Anna is capable of such nobility as Antigone and Dido both display. Finer moral values have little appeal to their practical souls. Each counsels the way of expediency, each is blind to the spiritual considerations that make decision in the matter in hand a question of life or death, both physically and morally, to the protagonists. When Antigone, confident of her sister's loyal cooperation, reveals her intention of performing the last rites for their brother, the dishonored Polynices, Ismene responds with the shocked question⁶, ἢ γὰρ νοεῖς θάπτειν σφ', ἀπόρητον πόλει; Moreover, Ismene concludes a somewhat defiant recital of the woes of the house of Oedipus by a statement which might well be used as an alibi by those who follow the path of least resistance⁷, τὸ γὰρ περισσὸν πράττειν οὐκ ἔχει νοῦν οὐδένα. Anna, though less selfish, since the problem is Dido's, not her own, is no less material in her counsel. She regards her sister's vow of allegiance to the memory of her dead husband somewhat impatiently. *Id cinerem aut Manis credis curare sepultos?*⁸, she inquires⁹, implying that she had acquiesced in her sister's whim when loyalty to Sychaeus was harmless and even commendable, since there was then no temptation to be otherwise than loyal. But she is totally unable to understand the impulse that makes Dido

struggle against the *veteris vestigia flammae*. Her surprise is admirably reflected in her question⁹, *placitone etiam pugnabis amori?*

Because Antigone *εἰκεν δ' οὐκ ἐπιστάται κακοῖς*¹⁰, her sister's adherence to the theory that discretion is the better part of valor leaves her high resolve unshaken. Dido, however, has accepted her sister's advice not because she has been won over by her arguments of expediency, but because the force of her passion is stronger than the noble ideals to which she had dedicated her life. Never does she cease to be conscious of her broken vow, to be *infelix*, and *omnino capta ac deserta*, despite her sister's approval of her decision.

Yet Ismene and Anna have lavished the deepest affection of which they are capable upon their sisters. If they fail Antigone and Dido in lack of understanding, they are by no means lacking in loyalty. When the crisis comes, each would fain share her sister's death. To Creon's unjust accusation that she, too, had been guilty of *lèse majesté*, Ismene replied¹¹,

δέδρακα τύργον, εἴπερ ἦδ' ὁμορροθεῖ,
καὶ ζυμμετίσχω καὶ φέρω τῆς αἰτίας.

Moreover, when Antigone proudly refuses her the right to share either her glory or her doom, she protests¹²,

μήτοι, κασιγνήτη, μ' ἀτιμάσῃς τὸ μὴ οὐ
θανεῖν τε σὺν σοὶ τὸν θανάτῳ θ' ἀγνίσαι.

When that plea too is rejected, she remonstrates¹³,
καὶ τίς βίος μοι σοῦ λελεμμένη φίλος;

To this Antigone makes the very human retort¹⁴,

Κρέοντ' ἐρώτα· τοῦδε γὰρ σὺ κηδεμών.

How like to this is Dido's refusal to permit Anna to share her death. Anna, to be sure, is more self-effacing, more maternal in her attitude to Dido than is Ismene in her attitude to Antigone. Anna is like the fond mother of an only gifted child who loves her "not wisely but too well". As Antigone reproached Ismene, so does Dido reproach Anna, though her reproach is not made directly, but in apostrophe¹⁵,

*Tu lacrimis evicta meis, tu prima furem
his, germana, malis oneras, atque obicis hosti.*

As Ismene sought to soften Creon's wrath by pleading for her sister, so Anna sought to move Aeneas by her constant entreaties. Anna's bitterest punishment is the crushing realization that, despite the affection she had lavished upon Dido, her sister had preferred to face death alone. Her anguished cry¹⁶, *Idem ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset*, indicates the stunning force of her bereavement.

Though there is such an interesting parallelism in these two great dramas, there is surely no basis for assuming that Vergil was indebted to Sophocles for the conception of the relationship between the two sisters. According to Servius¹⁷, Naevius had mentioned the sisters Dido and Anna, though we are by no means

³See 906-1063.

⁴Antigone 44.

⁵Antigone 1.

⁶Antigone 49-68.

⁷Aeneid 4.9-29.

⁸Aeneid 4.34.

⁹Aeneid 4.38.

¹⁰Antigone 544-545.

¹¹Aeneid 4.548-549.

¹²Antigone 472.

¹³Antigone 548.

¹⁴Aeneid 4.679.

¹⁵Antigone 536-537.

¹⁶Antigone 549.

¹⁷On Aeneid 4.9.

certain in what connection¹⁸. Ribbeck¹⁹ is reminded of Antigone's beautiful and touching lament in Sophocles's play when he quotes the verses

iam iam neque di regunt
neque profecto deum supremus rex curat hominibus
from Attius's *Antigona*. Macrobius²⁰ believed that, when Vergil made Dido question similarly the inherent justice of the universe²¹, in these words,

Iam iam nec maxima Iuno
nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis,
he was indebted to Attius. It seems to me, however, that Sophocles, Attius, and Vergil may well have expressed in similar fashions the very natural tendency of human beings to find an explanation of their own misfortunes in what appears to them, in the fullness of their despair, as divine injustice, without any indebtedness on the part of Attius to Sophocles, or of Vergil either to Sophocles or to Attius.

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REVIEWS

Ancient Corinth, With a Topographical Sketch of the Corinthia, Part I, From the Earliest Times to 404 B. C. By J. G. O'Neill. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, Edited by David M. Robinson, No. 8. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press (1930). Pp. xiii + 270; Plates X.

Professor O'Neill's dissertation, *Ancient Corinth*, is the child of international scholarship. It was born in Ireland, nurtured in Chicago, developed in Greece, and adopted by The Johns Hopkins University. The author is now Professor at Maynooth College, National University, Ireland.

The book contains the following chapters:

I Topography of Corinth and its Territory (1-29); II The City and its Citadel (30-58); III Prehistoric Corinth (59-88); IV Early Accounts, Cults and Myths (89-114); V The Tyranny and the Constitution Which Succeeded It (115-147); VI The Colonial System of Corinth and Early Foreign Relations (148-174); VII The Persian War: Before and After (175-194); VIII The Peloponnesian War (195-242).

There are two Appendices: I The Coinage of Corinth (243-245); II The Lelantine War and the Naupactian Inscription (246-252). In addition there are a list of Abbreviations (253-254), a Selected Bibliography (255-260), which lists modern works (about 175 titles), an Index (261-270), and a Preface (vii-ix).

Professor O'Neill's first chapter, on the topography of the Corinthia, is based largely on various modern studies, checked and supplemented by personal observations. It is accompanied by a map of the Corinthia (Plate I), which is reproduced from A. Philippson, *Der Peloponnes* (Berlin, Friedländer, 1892). It may be noted that Philippson's Corinthian studies, like those of

E. Curtius, are constantly cited throughout the work. Here, as elsewhere, the bibliographical references are abundant; but any one who has worked in Corinthian history for any length of time will be able to suggest titles which have been overlooked.

A doctoral dissertation is a difficult thing to write; it is particularly difficult for a young scholar to discriminate between his secondary authorities. Books and articles are constantly being superseded by others written by men with fuller knowledge and more specialized interests. Thus it is idle to cite Leake, or even Frazer, on the topography of the city of Corinth, for the American excavations made many points clear about which earlier writers could only offer conjectures.

The city itself, with Acrocorinth, is the subject of the second chapter. Professor O'Neill has visited Corinth, and he has read carefully accounts of the excavations. The plan of the excavated area, Plate X, was made by Professor Dinsmoor, of Columbia University. The chapter is well written and accurate, though I cannot agree with Professor O'Neill's conclusions (38-39), taken from Leake and Professor Elderkin, about the lower Pirene. In this connection we see clearly the difficulty of writing a definitive account of Corinthian history and topography before the final publication of the excavations has appeared. When it does appear, our ideas of the early history of Pirene will be altered, for Mr. Hill has recently made discoveries which require modification of the published views.

As a 'text' for the chapter on prehistoric Corinth, Professor O'Neill chooses a sentence from an article by Walter Leaf (*American Journal of Archaeology* 27 [1923], 152), challenging scholars to prove that Corinth was inhabited in the days of the Atridae. The major part of the chapter is devoted to the Leaf-Blegen controversy from which the 'text' is taken. This discussion belongs rather to a history of the history of Corinth, for nearly every campaign there produces evidence to prove the importance of the site during the Late Helladic Period. What, then, is the good of using Leaf as a 'straw man'? Since the historical problem has been settled by archaeology, the Homeric problem, which for Leaf, and apparently also for Professor O'Neill, seems to be the more important, is a matter of secondary interest suitable for an appendix, as Professor O'Neill himself suspected (viii). The excessive amount of space devoted to the Leaf-Blegen controversy is typical of many parts of the volume. Though the reader may commend the conclusions reached by the author, he is likely to become weary of long quotations from modern authors printed only to be refuted.

In the fourth chapter Professor O'Neill traces the cults and the legends back to Minoan-Mycenaean origins. Here Mr. Farnell is his 'straw man', and Nilsson, among others, is both the basis and the justification for his conclusions. Chapter V, on the Cypselids and the constitutional history of Corinth, is a convenient summary of the ancient and modern writings on these subjects. In the next chapter Professor O'Neill turns to the colonies of Corinth and her early foreign relations. For the section on colonies a summary from

¹⁸Reference may be made here to Dr. DeGraff's dissertation, *Naevian Studies* (Geneva, New York, Humphrey, 1931). In Chapter II, *The Dido-Aeneas Romance* (16-40), she discusses fully and adequately all that is known and all that has been conjectured about the rôles played by Dido and Anna in Naevius. C. K. >.

¹⁹See Otto Ribbeck, *Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*¹, 178 (Leipzig, Teubner, 1897).

²⁰*Saturnalia* 6.1.59. ²¹*Aeneid* 4.371-372.

a work of Curtius, unidentifiable by the reader, gives the views of the author (157-158). But in the section on Corinthian foreign relations, Professor O'Neill cannot follow Curtius, *Studien zur Geschichte von Korinth* (Hermes 10 [1876], 215-243) in assigning the Lelantine War to the eighth century. Instead he prefers to follow Bury (presumably J. B. Bury¹, *History of Greece*, 151 [London, Macmillan, 1906], to which he makes no reference in his discussion of this problem) in placing it at the end of the seventh century. The settlement of this problem is reserved for an Appendix (246-250). The section on the relations between Argos and Corinth has been turned into a *lanx satura* by quotations or citations from fourteen modern writers, ranging from Boeckh (*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*) to Mr. Wade-Gery (*Cambridge Ancient History*, 3.528), on the much disputed date of Pheidon. After this medley, Professor O'Neill, using a story told by Plutarch, *Amatoriae Narrationes*, "2.772", in an edition that is not named² in which Pheidon's relations with Corinth play an important part, concludes that the text of Pausanias (6.22.2), which gives the date of Pheidon as the eighth Olympiad, is correct. He argues plausibly from Corinthian history in behalf of this conclusion (170-171). I give this as an example of Professor O'Neill's methods, both good and bad. His attempt to survey Greek history from the standpoint of Corinth is both stimulating and productive. But I think most readers will agree that the volume could have been improved, and shortened, by the exclusion of many of the direct quotations or translations from modern authors. In any case the mass of secondary material spoils the favorable impression made by the author's own felicitous style.

Chapter VII deals with the history of Corinth from the end of the sixth century to the year of the Thirty Years' Truce (446). Here Professor O'Neill traces the growing estrangement between Athens and Corinth which was to result so disastrously in the Peloponnesian War. He explains the shift from friendship to hostility (187-188) as the result of an attempt by Corinth to maintain a balance of power in the Saronic Gulf. But the major interests of Corinth lay to the west, in the Corinthian Gulf. Megara enters the picture at this point because of the alternative route westward offered by the Megarean harbors. Still this route was so difficult, in comparison with the Isthmus, as to make competition on equal terms impossible. Under normal circumstances Athens would prefer the easier and cheaper route. This would tend to make the interests of Athens and Corinth one, since the prosperity of Corinth depended in some measure upon forwarding Athenian products, and that of Athens upon ease of communications with western markets. An interesting sidelight on the relations of these two cities is to be found in the fact that they were apparently most friendly about the time when Attic pottery was driving

out of the western market the products of the Corinthian potters. Since these Athenian manufactures reached their destination probably by way of Corinth, as did most of the Athenian exports to the west up to the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, this dependence of Athens upon Corinth deserves more attention than it usually receives.

The last chapter, on the Peloponnesian War, finds Professor O'Neill tilting in behalf of Thucydides against Mr. Grundy and other critics of the Greek historian. He analyzes the causes and the events of the war, with Corinth particularly in mind.

Despite the criticisms I have made, I must commend the book to English readers who are interested in the history of Corinth and in the problems which are associated with it. It is characterized by accuracy of detail and sanity of interpretation. But, above all, the author writes well and forcefully. He possesses an appreciation of beauty both in literature and in landscape which makes him a sympathetic historian of a city justly famous for its views.

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Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Publique de la Ville de Mons. Précédé d'Une Introduction et Suivi de Tables Méthodiques. By Paul Faider and Mme. Faider-Feytmans. Ghent: Van Rysselberghe and Rombaut; Paris: Édouard Champion (1931). Pp. xlv + 646.

I wish to call attention briefly to a publication which is of great importance to students in different fields, and to medievalists in particular—a volume entitled *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Publique de la Ville de Mons*.

Until Professor Faider, who is known to the readers of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY as the editor of the *Mélanges Thomas* (THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 24.116-117), was vested with full power to reorganize the Public Library in Mons, Belgium, this Library, especially the collection of manuscripts, was in a deplorable condition. I can bear witness to this fact, especially so far as the manuscripts are concerned, for I have visited the Library and have seen the damage which neglect has inflicted upon some of the manuscripts. Further, there was no systematic and complete catalogue of the manuscripts until the volume here under review was published.

After several years of intensive work (begun in 1927), Professor Faider succeeded both in reorganizing the Library in general and in publishing the present volume. It contains (a) an excellent introduction (ix-xliv), giving the historical background of the collection of manuscripts; (b) the Catalogue itself, which lists 1199 items, dating from the ninth to the nineteenth century (1-578)—every manuscript is classified, carefully described, and dated; and (c) a list of the authors and their works arranged according to subject matter and special field—philosophy, religion, sacred literature, philology, law, history, etc. (579-643). On pages 643-646 there are an alphabetical list of abbeys and monasteries to which the manuscripts can be

¹For reference to this general subject see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 24.105. C. K. >

²On page 169, note 72, Professor O'Neill, citing his authority for this story, writes as follows: "Cf. Plut., Amat. Narr., II, p. 772..." It will be noted that he does not name the edition or the work he has in mind in "II, p. 772". C. K. >

traced, and a chronological table. The names of the scribes, too, are noted here.

In this volume Professor Faider displays the same fine scholarship and technique in editorship which characterize his *Mélanges* Thomas. Both he and Mme. Faider, who cooperated with him, can be justly proud of this beautiful volume.

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THE EMPIRE ON WHICH THE SUN NEVER SETS

In his interesting note, in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 25.30, on *The Course of the Sun as a Measurement of Empire*, Dr. E. S. McCartney quotes some interesting counterparts from antiquity to the statement that the sun never sets on the British Empire. These may be supplemented by two from the West. The moving apostrophe to Rome which is the outstanding feature of the poem *De Reditu Suo*, written, in 416, by Rutilius Namatianus, the pagan Gaul who made the worship of the Eternal City his religion, embodies the same thought in words which little suggest a time when the barbarians had sacked Rome and a Gothic kingdom had been established in Gaul (1.55-58):

Nam solis radiis aequalia munera tendis,
qua circumfusus fluctuat Oceanus:
volvitur ipse tibi qui continet omnia Phoebus,
eque tuis ortos in tua condit equos.

Claudian, the Greek-speaking Alexandrian Jew who made Rome his second home and so completely Latinized himself that in many thousands of verses he committed only one false quantity, had already employed the idea, with his usual embroidery of elaboration, in his panegyric on Stilicho (*De Consulatu Stilichonis* 3.138-140):

Haec est exiguis quae finibus orta tetendit
in geminos axes, parvaque a sede profectas
dispersit cum sole manus.

JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD

C. J. FORDYCE

A CHINESE PARALLEL TO LIVY 21.37.2-3

The account in Livy 21.37.2-3¹ of blasting a path through solid rock by heating it and pouring vinegar upon it, causing it to crumble, during the crossing of

the Alps by Hannibal², has a parallel in the *Su Hung Kian Lu*, a Chinese history written, during the Yuan period in China³, by Chao Yuan Fing. An excerpt⁴ from this history, dealing with the nomadic tribes of Mongolia, has been translated into French by Heinrich Klaproth⁵.

The Chinese historian is describing the marriage of a daughter of Jinghis Khan (1162-1227) to Idikut, chief of the Bish balig (the modern Urumtsi) Uighurs. The incident reminds him of an old story of the Uighurs in their previous home in the basin of the Orkhon River. At that time the Uighurs had risen to dominate the congeries of tribes in the region, and had declared war on China⁶. The T'ang Emperor sought to avert this conflict, and offered to become an 'ally' of the Uighurs. To cement this union of the two peoples, the Emperor proposed the marriage of a Chinese princess to the son of the Uighur chief. This proposal was accepted by the Uighurs, and a Chinese envoy was sent to arrange the nuptials. In the heart of the Uighur country stood a 'hill', called Tengri-yutakh, or Khanli-takh ('The Hill of Celestial Reason', or 'The Hill of Happiness')⁷. This hill was associated by the Uighurs with their political power and economic well-being. The Chinese envoy, ever mindful of the Chinese policy of weakening the various nomadic confederacies of the desert, realized the importance of destroying the hill. The Chinese were also cognizant of the avid desire of the nomadic princes to ally themselves with the Emperors because presents were realized from such a union and because political benefits were derived from a position as 'allies of China'. He informed the Uighur khan that the price of the hand of the princess for his son was the gift of the 'hill' to the Emperor. These terms were accepted by the Uighur chief, and arrangements were made to remove the hill. The rock was found, however, to be too heavy for removal in one piece. It was, therefore, heated red-hot by a fire built around it, and vinegar was poured on until it broke into pieces; these were then loaded upon carts and removed⁸. The historian adds that this act ended the power and the prosperity of the Uighurs in the Orkhon region.

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¹Livy 21.37.2...ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt.

²The Yuans or Mongol dynasty ruled China from 1280-1368.

³Section XXIX, Folio xiv.

⁴Mémoires Relatifs à l'Asie, 2.332 (Paris, Dondey-Dupré, 1826).

⁵Such wars were usually raids on the frontier provinces of China.

⁶Mr. Klaproth translates this by 'rocher', and 'mont'. The word *takh* is the modern Turkish *dagh*, 'a mountain'. From the conclusion of the account, it is quite possible to assume that the 'hill' was no more than a large stone which served as an altar.

⁸Klaproth, 334.

<This famous passage in Livy has been repeatedly discussed in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY*: see 13.168, 16.73-76, 96, 128, 18.88, 22.98-99, 160, 184. In 22.98-99, a paper contributed by Professor John W. Spaeth, Jr., there is a long quotation from a work written by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Hoover, in 1912. Mr. Hoover several times calls the breaking of rock with fire and vinegar a "myth". C. K.>



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